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SUBJECT: U.S. AND CANADIAN POLICY PLANNERS SEEK SYNERGY ON KEY ISSUES

Classified By: Minister Counselor Brian Flora, reasons 1.4 (b) (d)

**11.** (C) Summary: In policy planning talks October 28-29 in Toronto, U.S. and Canadian colleagues exchanged views and sought ways to synergize efforts on a range of global and regional issues. The Canadian team briefed on Canada's attempt through its International Policy Review to enhance public support for international issues and better focus the country's foreign affairs resources on a few key countries and issues, notably Afghanistan. They believe it would help Canada and all players in Afghanistan if there were an integrated international assistance plan that synchronized outside help, similar to that developed for Bosnia after seven years of ineffective ad hoc approaches. The Canadian team believes that one of the key niches for Canada in this realm is that of assistance and mentoring to improve governance, and they are looking for ways to get more Canadians involved in this sort of field work. The two teams also exchanged views on post conflict stabilization, with our Canadian colleagues expressing envy over the headway that we have made in this area, and briefing us on their more modest effort to have teams ready to launch when the post crisis balloon goes up. Author Margaret MacMillan joined the teams for a closing lunch, and offered a historian's perspective on current issues, identifying the rise of powerful sub-state actors as the key issue for our age. End Summary

**12.** (U) S/P Director Mitchell B. Reiss led a team of U.S. policy planners to meet with their Canadian counterparts October 28-29 in Toronto.

US Participants:

Mitchell B. Reiss, Director, S/P

Barry Lowenkron, Deputy Director, S/P

Stewart Patrick, S/P Staff

Jessica Lecroy, Consul General Toronto

Keith Mines, Political Section, Embassy Ottawa

Canadian Participants:

Ross Hornby, Assistant Deputy Minister for Strategic Policy, FAC

Rob MacRae, Director General, Policy Planning Secretariat, FAC

Chris Cooter, Policy Planning Division, FAC

Michael Dawson, United States Relations Division, FAC

Patricia Fortier, Minister Counselor, Canadian Embassy,

Washington

Beth Newcombe, Policy Planning Division, FAC

Canada Seeks Synergy in International Policy Review

**13.** (SBU) The Canadians kicked off the talks by briefing their American counterparts on the status of the Canadian International Policy Review (IPR), a lengthy effort to bring much-needed focus to Canada's foreign policy apparatus in an age of scarce resources. The Canadians explained that the 80-page document will attempt to integrate the efforts of all arms of foreign policy around the three-D's of defense, development, and diplomacy.

**14.** (SBU) The IPR begins with an overview of Canada's international interests and why international affairs should matter to Canadians (the document will be public and will be part of a much needed debate in Canada, so is written as much to move the Canadian public as to synchronize and energize the bureaucracy). The document has three key sections: security (terrorism, peacekeeping, regional conflicts); sustainable development and economic opportunities (trade, education, financial stability); and global citizenship (good governance, public diplomacy, and how to express what Canada stands for in the world).

**15.** (SBU) There is a lengthy discussion in the document on what the various agencies can do to better implement the program and synchronize their efforts, and then a final section on how to best engage multilateral institutions and bilateral partners. Chris Cooter clarified later that there was talk of having the U.S. partnership as a stand-alone section in the latter part of the document, but the staff realized that the U.S. was so central to each of the various elements that it needed to be addressed throughout.

**16.** (SBU) The IPR also attempts to divide the world into categories to provide better focus. These are:

-- Global partners: G-8 and advanced democracies.

-- Emerging Global Players: Brazil, India, China, etc.  
-- Pathfinders: Emerging middle powers that play a key regional role -- e.g. Korea, South Africa, Jordan.  
-- Third World: Developing nations without any particular significance.  
-- Failed or Failing States: States that are in crisis and cannot be ignored, including Pakistan, Afghanistan, Haiti.

#### A Canadian Niche

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17. (C) Cooter said that the purpose of this exercise is to help focus Canada's efforts on a limited range of countries where it can make a difference rather than disburse resources broadly. The strategy is basically to engage with current and emerging global players to assist the pathfinder states who will then have a secondary impact on their regions, and to lift the failed states. The design effectively skips over the mass of third world countries where development specialists have traditionally worked on small, diffused & feel good<sup>8</sup> programs. Hornby hinted at a turf battle between Foreign Affairs and CIDA over where to put Canada's shrinking resources. &They have money and we have ideas,<sup>8</sup> he said, and questioned whether it would be possible to get the &agrarian romantics<sup>8</sup> to &discover cities,<sup>8</sup> for example. To the extent there is a need to work in non-essential third world countries, the policy planning recommendation is to do it from regional hubs. From a total of as many as 30 program areas, the IPR would try to reorient CIDA to the three key areas of health, education, and private sector development.

18. (SBU) The IPR will be completed in mid-November when it will go to Parliament for a public debate. Other ministries such as finance, trade, and aid will also have input. Hornby said part of the purpose is to engage Canadians broadly on the issue of foreign affairs, to show how foreign policy serves Canada's vital interests and is linked to domestic issues. Canadians, MacRae said, simply do not feel a threat and have trouble focusing on foreign policy. In response to a question about resources, Hornby said the review would make it explicit that Canada is globally engaged and should fund its agencies accordingly. The plan calls for an improvement in the efficiency of the bureaucracy to support such a global engagement, specifically by adding 8% per annum to Canada's aid budget and resourcing a new brigade for the military.

19. (SBU) Finally, there was a positive discussion of Canada's search for a niche in the world that would support the advance of democracy while making a noticeable contribution. Cooter said that Canada has traditionally been seen as an effective bridge (e.g., between the U.S. and Europe), but the question now is a bridge to what? Dr. Reiss praised this effort as an effective way to find its niche and urged Canada to be like the College of William & Mary, which realized it did not have the resources to do all things well and has focused instead on doing a few things superbly.

#### Coordinated Road-Map for Afghanistan?

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10. (C) The U.S. side briefed next on the positive trends in Afghanistan (elections, ANA, NATO commitment), and the ongoing threat from warlords, narcotics, and insurgents. Hornby said that Canada is definitely in Afghanistan for the long run but is trying to come to grips with how long that is. Again he inferred a split between the realists at Foreign Affairs and the dreamers at CIDA, the former seeing Afghanistan as Canada's most important mission in the world at present, and the latter seeing it as taking away resources from places where they can help people in a zero-sum game. The political commitment is there for Afghanistan, however, Hornby said, and he is not worried about fatigue taking a toll on that commitment. Still, he believes Canada worries about the continuing commitment of Europeans and already detects some drift. MacRae asked whether we are at the point where we need a roadmap to help integrate political and security programs in Afghanistan. It took seven years to produce a coordinated plan for Bosnia, he said, but we don't have that kind of time for Afghanistan, and need to focus resources and synchronize our efforts now. He thought this would help the Europeans and would certainly help Canada.

#### Iran

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11. (C) Dr. Reiss led a discussion of Iran by reviewing U.S. concerns about proliferation by Tehran and discussing recent activities in the G-8 and by the EU-3. The Canadians were interested in how adept we thought the Iranians were at playing the U.S. and Europe off against each other and what Canada could do to ensure their efforts strengthen, rather than weaken our hand. Dr. Reiss concluded by saying that we were very concerned with the European effort to simply extend more carrots without contemplating the need for sticks, and that we need better overall coordination on our approach to

prevent Iran from becoming another divisive issue in the transatlantic relationship.

Iraq

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112. (C) The U.S. team also led the discussion on Iraq, outlining our plan for the next 100 days. It emphasized the importance of security to get through the elections, and the U.S. hope that there would then be enhanced security because of the elections. Cooter wondered whether it would be possible to place too much emphasis on the elections, given all the hurdles to doing them well. Dr. Reiss responded that there is no good reason to believe that conditions would improve down the road, and they might actually deteriorate. Cooter suggested that the worst possible outcome would be an anti-Western nationalism and wondered whether, like Afghanistan, we would collectively benefit from a strategic plan for Iraq that included free trade agreements and a coordinated development strategy.

Middle East

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113. (C) Dr. Reiss began the discussion on the Middle East by sharing the reality (despite the illogic) with which the Israeli-Palestinian issue is placed at the center of all issues in the Middle East. Dr. Lowenkron shared the key challenges we face with regards to the BMENA process -- that it not become the APEC of the Middle East, where much is discussed and little resolved; that we actively engage civil society; and that it be self-sustaining.

114. (C) Cooter agreed with this assessment, suggesting that it would be easy to make this kind of forum one where leaders make their standard pitch and return home, rather than developing the sort of evolving and dynamic structures that could make real progress. Hornby suggested the need to find a way to help our European colleagues to &get over8 Iraq and get down to work with us on this and other initiatives. MacRae added that in this particular framework the best niche for Canada is probably the improvement of local governance and the delivery of services. Both sides agreed that a mentoring role in this area would make sense for Canada. Dr. Reiss closed by suggesting that recent events present an opportunity for progress on the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

Cross Cultural Dialogue

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115. (C) Our Canadian interlocutors led a discussion of public diplomacy and cross-cultural dialogue with an eye to the Muslim community. Cooter said Canada has initiated a dialogue with its own Muslim community, most of whom are from South Asia and not the Middle East, in the hope that the GOC can leverage their support. They do not want a simple series of meetings that don't go anywhere, and are concerned that if the effort is misconstrued it could actually do more harm than good. One of the key targets of this dialogue is city dwellers, particularly those in slums, with an eye to reducing the &hostile underclass.<sup>8</sup>

116. (SBU) On the Canadian action list is the following:

- Try to initiate a horizontal rather than a top-down approach to partnerships in the cross-cultural dialogue, to avoid patronizing and counterproductive engagements.
- Emphasize respect for diversity, not just as an abstract cultural values but as a firm foreign policy goal.
- Look for targets of opportunity, e.g. Pakistan's debt forgiveness in exchange for changing its curriculum.
- Take the time to openly learn from one's hosts. Demonstrate that the cross-cultural dialogue is not one-way.
- Focus efforts on the right issues at the right place and the right time.
- Synergize efforts with Parliament, NGOs, etc. Develop key links, e.g. urban to urban links with police to do community policing.

Post Conflict Stabilization

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117. (SBU) The U.S. side led the discussion of new approaches to post conflict stabilization with a review by Stewart Patrick of the new S/CRS office in the State Department. The Canadians said they have a similar concept but on a more modest scale. They hope to develop a small unit of military officers who would have an expandable roster of individuals they can call up quickly in a crisis -- an inner circle from government and an outer circle from NGOs and the private sector. They were impressed by the depth of planning that has already gone into our effort and were envious of the fact that full responsibility for post conflict operations is fully vested in the State Department. MacRae offered that he believes we could both be applying more lessons from the Balkans as we conduct this sort of planning and

restructuring.

Author Margaret MacMillan - From 1919 to 2004

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¶18. (U) Margaret MacMillan, author of the current bestseller &1919,<sup>8</sup> joined the group for lunch to offer an historian's perspective on the contemporary world. MacMillan said the end of the Cold War leaves the West in a period somewhat reminiscent of 1919, in which an old order had been overturned but there was no clear candidate to replace it. Then as now there was a single hegemon (Britain after WWI, America now) who is reaching imperial overstretch, and then as now there are irrational nationalist passions that are not well understood (ethnic nationalism then, religious tribalism now).

¶19. (U) MacMillan believes we are not seeing the fulfillment of Huntington's clash of civilizations -- both the West and the Muslim world are more complex than he makes them out to be. But we are, she believes, seeing a more important rise of sub-state actors and the world is slow to come to grips with their newly acquired power. It is the rise of irrational sub-state actors and how they are dealt with by the developed world, that MacMillan believes is the key to the future. She hopes for a construct that would avoid a repeat of the failure of 1919, when the wrong assumptions and the wrong model required a second world war to sort the world out.

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